

### Bibliography on Croatian Exiles (20th Century): With Annotations and Comments

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Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version  
Bibliographie / bibliography

#### Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Robionek, B. (2012). *Bibliography on Croatian Exiles (20th Century): With Annotations and Comments*. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, Osteuropa-Institut. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-65569-3>

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# **Bibliography on Croatian Exiles (20th Century)**

**With Annotations and Comments**

**Bernd Robionek**



a project of Osteuropa-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin

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## Introduction

After in 1929 the so-called royal dictatorship had been introduced in Yugoslavia, Croatian émigré activity, calling for total national self-governance in Croatia, was reinforced. One legacy of these independence activists is a large amount of publications. The First Exile (1929-1941), that paved the way to the Ustaša state, has already been thoroughly analysed. During the decades following the wartime intermission of 1941-1945, when the (at least nominally) Independent State of Croatia existed, the Second Exile produced a big amount of publications on four continents (the Americas, Europe and Australia) which by and large are still holding good for scientific examination. The Croatian independence activists created a political scene on its own that at least periodically seems to have been more occupied with internal affairs than successfully pushing forward the common agenda.

This bibliography aims to facilitate the content-related access to the (sometimes short lived) periodicals and publications which have been created in the context of endeavours for an own Croatian state and to shed some light on the personnel and organizational structures of émigré politics in various countries. Creating a bibliography on Croatian political exile literature faces one deficit: To date only little research has been done on this topic and thus very few titles are scientific in the strict sense. Unlike other topics that can rely on a broader basis of literature fulfilling scientific standards, the politically motivated writings that emanated from Croatian émigrés or their Yugoslavian opponents cannot, of course, be treated like scientific contributions. There are seldom any theories used for research beyond trying to prove that the opinion of the author is right.

A survey shows that there have been roughly a dozen exclusively Croatian publishers abroad in the second half of the 1970s, many of them producing books and periodicals at the same time. In 1953 the Franciscan friar Dominik Mandić founded the Chicago-based „Croatia Cultural Publishing Center”, which ceased publishing in 1967, but his Institute for Croatian History in Chicago remained an example for nationally motivated publishing activities. After Mandić's death in 1973 the institute moved to Rome, where the „ZIRAL” (Zajednica izdanja Ranjeni labud) publishing house was already situated. The „Croatian Voice Publishing Company Ltd.” in Canadian Winnipeg (Manitoba) has a history that reaches back to the time before the Second World War. The well-established and Peasant Party-affiliated *Hrvatski glas* found its readers primarily among the Croatian settlers and was not devoted to an independent Croatia in the first line. Other publishing centres existed at the University of Toronto (Ontario) and in Buenos Aires (*Croatian Information Service* and *Hrvatska revija*, which was of outstanding importance). In Europe *Domovina*, Vjekoslav Luburić's *Drina* (Madrid) and later also „Liber Croaticus” (Mainz, Germany) published exclusively in favour of Croatian national independence.

The core elements of the exile discourses frequently reappeared throughout the decades and were serving the perpetual self-confirmation in order to stay on the track towards the prime political goal. Once they have been summarized, these elements become redundant. Every scholar who starts research on Croatian independence activists abroad has to be aware of this fact. One challenge for studies targeting topics above the consensual basics of exile politics consists in stripping off this relatively large body of redundancy from the essential information needed to answer the research thesis. The mainstream of the political publications of Croatian exiles can be outlined as

- pushing forward the aim of an independent Croatian state (regardless of political leanings),
- criticising the policy of the current Yugoslav government (if this had been the prime target it would have more likely come to alliances with Serbian and other exile elements),
- establishing a nationalistic historiography with an emphasis on the continuation of the Croatian statehood contrary to the Yugoslavian concept of „Brotherhood and Unity”,
- serving as a storage of „ethno-national inventions” (Zlatko Skrbušić) and giving national claims a scientific semblance,
- presenting the Croatian people as victims of the Yugoslav state,
- coping with the difficult past of the Ustaša state (ranging from glorification to dissociation),
- carrying out debates on exile issues,
- and closing the ranks through self-confirmation of the common goal by turning any form of Croatian statehood into a fetish and sometimes ending up at self-aggrandizement.

On the other hand the publications released in royal or Socialist Yugoslavia generally were not less one-sided in their tone. Both South Slav states have share a common stance towards the political emigration mirrored by the books and articles written inside this country, having the intention

- to demonize and criminalize the exiles and show their political incompetence,
- to present them as traitors in service of hostile foreign powers (the „Sixth Column”) and thus deny them any legitimacy,

- to state that the population of Yugoslavia remains unimpressed by the efforts of the „hostile” or „Fascist” emigration and stands firm against it.

Therefore, place and time of a release indicate the bias. The significance of the politically motivated publishing activities of the oppositional Croatian emigration can hardly be measured from a view on the surface. Quantity does not reflect the scope of readership and influences. But we can assume that the exile publications in its entirety counted for something. They can be considered a counter-publicity against any Yugoslav government. The Yugoslav authorities, however, regarded them as „psychological warfare” and thus stimulated counter-propaganda to perpetuate the „thoroughly cultivated image of the enemy” (Klaus Buchenau).

Owing to the heterogeneity and dispersion of Croatian independence activism abroad, a considerable potential of scientific approaches comes into view. A survey for an easier orientation, not only among the exile publications but also for the few yet accomplished studies on this topic, will be provided here. There are some border case categories, e.g. an exile writer who returned to Croatia in the early 1990s and writes *about* the emigration; or books containing both secondary texts and primary sources. It is not always possible to make a clear cut between these categories and I hope for understanding that I made decisions for one or another of these options. Descriptions of essays in specialized journals are widely based on the summaries as added to the articles.

On this occasion I would like to thank Ludwig Steindorff (University of Kiel), Aleksandar Jakir (University of Split), the German Service for Academic Exchange (DAAD), the Fritz and Helga Exner Foundation and not at least Holm Sundhausen (Freie Universität Berlin) for kind support.

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Krivić, Josip: „Nepriзнata djela. Članci, predavanja, prosvjedi, govori i važna pisma iz pismohrane političke emigracije.” Omiš 2005. 319 pages.

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Prćela, John/ Guldescu, Stanko (eds.): „Operation Slaughterhouse. Eyewitness Accounts of Postwar Massacres in Yugoslavia.” Philadelphia 1970. 557 pages.

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Selak, Ante (ed.): „Hrvatska zauvijek. Prilozi hrvatskoj državotvornoj misli.” Zagreb 1996. 558 pages.

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Subotić, Dragan (ed.): „Srpska politička emigracija u analima jugoslovenske diplomatije (1945-1971). Prilozi za diplomatiju i diplomatsku istoriju.” Vol. 1/2. Belgrade 2004. 276/324 pages.

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Bauer, Ernest: „Život je kratak san.” Munich, Barcelona 1986. 401 pages.

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Bordić, Blaž: „Moja sjećanja. Hrvati u okovima velikosrpskog i jugokomunističkog režima.” Donji Andrijevići 2000. 498 pages.

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Borić, Gojko: „Hrvat izvan domovine. Sjećanja političkog emigranta.” Zagreb 2007. 234 pages.

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Čović, Marko: „Nejugoslavenska Jugoslavija i Hrvati.” Munich, Barcelona 1975. 445 pages.

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Grubišić, Slavko: „Nad ponorom pakla. Svjedočanstvo o komunističkim zločinima.” 2nd ed. Zagreb 2004. 349 pages.

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Hustić, Bogumil: „Ilegalno preko Alpa do Južne Amerike.” Zagreb 2003. 153 pages.

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Jesih, Pavao: „Crvena ruža na oltaru. Biografska pripovijest.” Winnipeg 1950. 334 pages.

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Kamber, Dragutin: „Slom NDH. Kako sam ga ja proživio.” 2nd ed. Zagreb 1995. 61 pages.

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Kovačić, Matija: „Od Radića do Pavelića. Hrvatska u borbi za svoju samostalnost. Uspomene jednog novinara.” (= Ljudi i krajevi 6). Munich, Barcelona 1970. 302 pages.

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► Review by Suzana Maršić in Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2005: 302-305.

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Musa, Vladimir: „U Titovim pandžama. Svjedočanstva.” Munich 1973. 290 pages.

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Nikolić, Vinko: „Tragedija se dogodila u svibnju... Jedna [prva] godina egzila u dnevniku 'ratnog' zarobljenika broj 324.664.” Vol. 1/2. 2nd ed. Zagreb 1995. 540/558 pages.

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Pavelić, Ante: „Doživljaji.” Madrid 1968. 511 pages.

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Pavelić, Ante: „Doživljaji III.” Split 2008. 285 pages.

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Perović, Bonifacije: „Hrvatski katolički pokret. Moje uspomene.” Rome 1976. 311 pages.

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Pintar, John I.: „Four years in Tito's Hell.” Buenos Aires 1954. 300 pages.

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Žuger, Ivan: „Nasuprot istini stoji laž.” Ottawa 1986.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Povijest Hrvatske bratske zajednice 1894. – 1994.” Zagreb 1994. 358 pages.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „History of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America 1894. – 1994.” Zagreb 1994. 358 pages.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Emigration and emigrants from Croatia between 1880 and 1980.” Geojournal. An International Journal on Human Geography and Environmental Sciences 38,4 (1996): 431-436.

Croatia ranks among those parts of Europe which have taken very high part in all forms of emigration flows in almost all periods of the last few centuries. The emigration from Croatia was caused by different reasons, such as historical, political, national, religious, and social. It started already in the 16th century and has been going on more or less intensively in different historical periods up to the present. The first emigrations were caused by Turkish invasion, and those from the later periods came as a result of economical, social and political circumstances in which the population of Croatia was living at that time. About 500,000 people had emigrated from Croatia in the period from the end of the century up to World War I. Most of them went to the U.S. The First World War made a break in the mass emigration. After the war the émigré problem came up again, but with some essential changes which were the consequences of the war. World War II stimulated a great wave of emigration from Croatia. Emigration occurred either voluntarily or involuntarily. For the entire period from 1948-1981, statistics show that modern overseas emigration from Croatia totalled roughly 140,000 persons. Finally, the author emphasizes that the problem of emigration was and is still actual for the Croatian nation, especially in view of the fact that emigration from Croatia continues. As a result, he states, today two million and half Croatian immigrants and their descendants live abroad.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Political Activities of Croatian Immigrants in the USA and the Creation of an Independent Croatia.” Društvena istraživanja 7,1-2 (1998): 5-25.

Finding that Croatian immigrants participated in the political life of both their old country and their new homeland. At their conventions and other meetings, the Croatian organizations expressed their demand for the full freedom of the Croatian people in Austria-Hungary. During World War I Croats, Serbs and Slovenes in the U.S. were very active in the movement against Austria-Hungary and the creation of a common state of the South Slavs. Between the two world wars the unfavourable political situation in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had a significant influence on the political activities of American Croats. Their program was to improve the political position of Croats in the Yugoslav state, to inform the American public about the political demands of Croats, and to provide material and moral aid. At the beginning of World War II, most American Croats distanced themselves from the regime

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in Croatia by stressing that Croats were loyal citizens of the U.S. In the first post-WWII years, further Croatian political émigrés arrived in the United States. These émigrés quickly organized themselves into Croatian political associations. According to the author, they played an important role in uniting the Croatian political diaspora, which in turn prepared this diaspora for jointly supporting the creation of an independent Croatian state in 1991.

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Čizmić, Ivan/ Miletić, Ivan /Prpić, George J.: „From the Adriatic to Lake Erie. A history of Croatians in Greater Cleveland.” Eastlake, Zagreb 2000. 557 pages.

► Review by Dražen Živić in Društvena istraživanja 10,6 (2001): 1225-1229

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Čizmić, Ivan/ Sopta, Marin/ Šakić, Vlado: „Iseljena Hrvatska.” Zagreb 2005. 503 pages.

► Review by Vilko Težak in Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2006: 253-256.

► Review by Rumyana Bozhilova in Études Balkaniques 1/2007: 157-160.

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Čizmić, Ivan/ Sopta, Marin/ Šakić, Vlado: „Hrvati u svjetskomu migracijskom kontekstu.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2008. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2007: 11-23.

Places the emigration from Croatia in the regional context and points to the scarcity of written records. Before the twentieth century the major obstacle was the poorly developed communications, especially with overseas countries, before the 20th century and political isolation of the Croatian emigrant communities are seen as contributing factors for a greater cultural integration and assimilation among Croatian groups in the receiving countries. On the other hand, this situation also encouraged many activities aimed at mutually linking emigrant Croats and preserving their Croatian identity. Only with the establishment of an independent democratic Croatia in the early 1990s, the authors assert, became it possible to more systematically generate knowledge concerning Croatian emigration, both in Croatia and abroad. They make out three massive waves of migration: The first covers the period from the 15th to 18th centuries when the American continent was being colonised, the second from the 18th century to the start of World War II, when the new states on the American and Australian continents were being formed, and the third from 1965 to the present. Croats participated in all three global migration waves. Debates on the national and cultural identity of migrants in the receiving countries are more current now than ever, as they are linked with globalisation processes in receiving countries and those from which emigrants departed. By this the migrants, besides their dominant role to date, that of the chief source of labour, acquire a new social and culturally integrative role at all levels. The article also reflects upon the „stereotype” (p. 14) of the „extremist emigration” as a weapon to discredit all oppositional efforts abroad.

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Dugandžić-Pašić, Maria: „Croats of Chicagoland.” Chicago IL 2010. 128 pages.

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Holjevac, Većeslav: „Hrvati izvan domovine.” 2nd ed. Zagreb 1968. 393 pages.

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”Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik.” Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 1992- (annual).

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Jareb, Mario: „Hrvatska politička emigracija od 1928. do 1990. godine.” Hrvatska politika u XX. stoljeću. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u paliči Matice hrvatske od 27. do 29. travnja 2004., ed. by Ljubomir Andrić. Zagreb 2006: 307-336.

Dealing with the activities of Croatian political émigrés from 1928 to 1990. In the historiography and in general non-fiction writing the concept of the 'Croatian political émigré' chiefly takes for granted the work of Croatian political émigrés who tended to destroy the Yugoslav state and establish an independent Croatia in the 1945-1990 period. Often it is only referred to those émigrés who directly invoked the inheritance of the NDH. This, the author points out, is inaccurate. Following findings draw this conclusion: Croatian émigrés were active even before 1941. Apart from Pavelić's Ustaša-domobran movement, another organisation was active: the Hrvatsko kolo (Croatian Circle) in North America. During the period of the January 6 Dictatorship (from 1929 to 1934) the HSS was also active abroad as part of the émigré connection. Besides, numerous émigré groups after 1945 did not in fact rely on the NDH inheritance, although they did work with the aim of establishing an independent Croatia.

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Krizman, Bogdan: „Geneza i razvoj ustaškog pokreta.” Socijalizam. Časopis Saveza Komunist Jugoslavije 12 (1985): 1674-1715.

The renowned Yugoslav-Croat historian Krizman contributed several works on the Ustaša movement. In this articles he provides an outline of its foundation and development not only in its pre-war era but also during and after the Second World War. Krizman gives a lot of crucial figures and also takes into account the political circumstances but unfortunately refrained from using footnotes to reveal the sources. Although the comprehensive study from Mario Jareb is more up-to-date, the essay by Krizman still provides useful details. However, one has to take into account that the review in which it has been published was in line with the communist government in Yugoslavia. Krizman accordingly emphasizes the compromising aspects of the Croatian independence activists, e.g. the veritable but ambivalent collaboration with the Axis powers during World War II.

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Kadić, Ante: „Iseljena Hrvatska.” Chicago 1979. 244 pages.

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Matl, Josef: „Die Emigration aus Jugoslawien.” Osteuropa-Handbuch Jugoslawien, ed. by Werner Markert. Cologne, Graz 1954: 205-215.

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Mesić, Milan: „External Migration in the Context of the Post-War Development of Yugoslavia.” Yugoslavia in Transition. Choices and Constraints, ed. by John B. Allcock/ John J. Horton/ Marko Milivojević. New York, Oxford 1992: 171-198.

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Prpić, George J.: „The Croatian Immigration to America after 1945.” Cleveland, Oh. 1967. 21 pages.

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► Review by John Bodnar in Pennsylvania History 39 (October 1972): 549-551.

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Šito Ćorić, Šimun: „45 hrvatskih emigrantskih pisaca.” Zagreb 1991. 411 pages.

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Šito Ćorić, Šimun: „60 hrvatskih emigrantskih pisaca.” (= Prinosi za povijest književnosti u Hrvata, Autori i djela 4). Zagreb 1995. 591 pages.

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Velikonja, Josef: „Emigration.” Yugoslavia. (= Handbook on South Eastern Europe, vol. 1), ed. by Klaus-Detlev Grothusen. Göttingen 1975: 360-382.

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## 5. Internet Resources

"Hrvatska politička emigracija i Hrvatska država. Prinos iseljene Hrvatske uspostavi smostalne hrvatske države i njezinu razvitku."

URL: <http://www.vjesnik.hr/razno/Dijaspora/>

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"Hrvatska revija. Bibliografija izrađena u Uredništvu Thesaurusa Leksikografskoga zavoda 'Miroslav Krleža'."

URL: <http://161.53.245.120/knjizStart.htm>

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"Hrvatski informativni centar. Hrvati izvan domovine."

URL: <http://www.hic.hr/hrvatski/hid/index.htm>

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„Klub hrvatskih povratnika iz iseljništva.”

URL: <http://www.klub-povratnika.com.hr/>

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„Nacionalna i Sveučilišna Knjižnica u Zagrebu.”

URL: <http://katalog.nsk.hr/>

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"The Pavelic Papers. An independent project researching the history of the ustase movement."

URL: <http://www.pavelic-papers.com>

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"Studia Croatica. Instituto de Cultura Croata."

URL: <http://www.studiacroatica.org/>

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## **6. The First Exile (1927 – 1941)**

### **6.1. Works from within the Political Emigration (1927 – 1941)**

#### **6.1.1. Books and Booklets**

Budak, Mile (ed.): „Nezavisna hrvatska država. Godišnjak 1934.” Berlin [1933].

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**Grič.** Evropski prilog Hrvatskog Domobrana u Buenos Airesu. Italy 1932-1934 (monthly).

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**Grič.** Hrvatska korespondencija. Vienna.

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**Hrvatski domobran.** Ed. by Branimir Jelić. Buenos Aires 1930-1943 (weekly).

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**Hrvatski Domobran.** Godišnjak (Kalendar). Ed by Ante Valenta/ Ante M. Došen/ Zlatko Fraisman. Pittsburgh, Pa./ Buenos Aires 1933, 1936-1939, 1942 (annual).

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**Hrvatski svijet.** Nezavisno glasilo hrvatskog radnog naroda. Ed. by Anton Tanasković. New York [1944-] (semi-weekly).

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**Kroatischer Informations-Dienst.** Ed. by Slavko Cihlar. Berlin 1931/1932.

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**Ustaša.** Vjestnik hrvatskih revolucionaraca. Italy 1930-1934 (monthly).

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## **6.2. Works concerning the Political Emigration (1927 – 1941)**

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Begić, Miron Krešimir: „Ustaški pokret 1929-1941. Pregled njegove poviesti.” New York, Buenos Aires 1986. 288 pages.

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Desbons, George: „Zašto sam branio ustaše. U obrani istine i pravde.” Madrid 1983. 52 pages.

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Eckhardt, Tibor: „Regicide at Marseille. Recollections of Tibor Eckhardt” New York 1964. 250 pages.

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Jareb, Mario: „Ustaško-domobranski pokret od nastanka do travnja 1941. godine.” (= Biblioteka XX. stoljeće). 2nd ed. Zagreb 2007. 665 pages.

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Krizman, Bogdan: „Ante Pavelić i ustaše.” 3rd ed. Zagreb 1986. 606 pages.

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Miličević, Vladeta: „A King Dies in Marseilles. The Crime and its Background.” Bad Godesberg 1959. 134 pages.

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Papasissis, Themistokles: „The King must Die.” Berlin [1959]. 81 pages.

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Petrinović, Ivo: „Mile Budak. Portret jednog političara.” 2nd ed. Split 2003. 238 pages.

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Pogorelec, Jelka: „Tajne emigrantskih zločinaca. Ispovijest Jelke Pogorelec o Gustavu Perčecu i drugovima, koji u tuđoj službi rade protiv vlastite domovine grozote na Janka Puszti.” Zagreb 1933. 38 pages.

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Sadkovich, James J.: „Italian Support for Croatian Separatism, 1927 – 1937.” New York 1987. 485 pages.

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Trifković, Srđan: „Ustaša. Croatian Separatism and European Politics, 1929-1945.” London/ Aiken, SC 1998. 323 pages.

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Biber, Dušan: „Ustaše i Treći Reich.” Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis 3,2 (1964): 37-56.

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Boban, Ljubo: „Nekoliko izveštaja o povratku Mile Budaka iz emigracije (1938).” Zbornik Historijskog instituta Slavonije 7/8 (1970).

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Kongres američkih Hrvata.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2004. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2003: 213-218.

When the news of the fall of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia reached the U.S., the Croatian Fraternal Union sent a message to President Roosevelt on July 16, 1941, stating that the Croats, as loyal U.S. citizens, support the policies of the U.S. and its allies convinced that the Allies' victory would mean also a victory for their old country; they denounced the so-called Independent State of Croatia, and pledged to cooperate with other Southern Slavic peoples on the implementation of the U.S. war program. The author shows that in October 1941, the organization entitled „The Serb National Defense” from Chicago launched a vicious propaganda effort to smear the Croats as fascist allies. The campaign was spearheaded by the ambassador of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the U.S., Konstantin Fotić. Čizmić paints a very dark picture of Fotić who is said to have played the role of the sole representative of „democracy,” but, in fact, tried to persuade the U.S. that Milan Nedić was a true patriot and the man to count upon in the Balkans. Further, systematically spreading lies about Croats using his friends and emigrant organizations, maintaining chauvinist hatred and producing proofs that Yugoslavia cannot exist are features attributed to Fotić. The Congress held in Chicago in February 1943 is taken as the strongest and most effective answer on the part of The Croatian Americans. It brought together and organized hundreds of thousands of Croatian Americans to support the war efforts of the U.S., as well as to support, both morally and materially, the Liberation War of the Yugoslav peoples against the occupying forces and domestic traitors. This was one of the most massive moves in the history of Croatian emigration. The author encourages us to freely assert that „The First Congress of Croatian Americans” was crucial for political orientation and activity of a vast majority of Croatian Americans, as well as for a change of attitude of the American public toward Croatian Americans and Croatia in general. In his view the Croatian Fraternal Union and its membership deserve the most credit for organizing the Congress of Croatian Americans. Accordingly the author draws the conclusion that Croatian Americans joined in large numbers the antifascist efforts of the U.S. during the Second World War.

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Jareb, Jere: „Šest dokumenata o prvom dodiru dra Ante Pavelića s talijanskom vladom 1927.” Hrvatska revija 80,4 (1970): 1165-1178.

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Jareb, Jere: „Hrvatski apel talijanskom ministru vanjskih poslova iz lipnja 1940.” Hrvatska revija 96,4 (1974): 572-574.

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Jareb, Mario: „Planovi i koncepcije ustaško-domobranskog pokreta od početka tridesetih godina do travnja 1941. o opsegu i granicama buduće nezavisne hrvatske države.” Hereditas rerum Croaticarum ad honorem Mirko Valentić. Ed. by Alexander Buczynski/ Milan Kruhek/ Stjepan Matković. Zagreb 2003: 302-314.

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Jareb, Mario: „Hrvatsko kolo u SAD-u i Kanadi od 1928. do 1946. godine.” Zbornik u čast Hrvoja Matkovića u povodu 80. godine života. Ed. by Stjepan Matković. Zagreb 2005: 153-170.

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Kraja, Josip: „Narodna borba prvih hrvatskih useljenika u U.S.A.” Hrvatska revija 13,3 (1963): 293-326.

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Kraja, Joseph (Josip): „The Croatian Circle, 1928-1946. Chronology and Reminiscences.” Journal of Croatian Studies 5-6 (1964-1965):

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Krišto, Jure: „Čuvari svoje braće. Policijsko nadgledanje američkih Hrvata tijekom II. svjetskoga rata.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 35,2 (2003): 407-430.

On the basis of archival documents from the U.S. state archives. Presents how the FBI surveilled members of the Croatian community in the U.S. during WWII. Author emphasizes Serbian influence on U.S. authorities to discredit Croatians as Axis sympathisers. Presents the widespread support among Croatian immigrants for Tito's Partisans as result of Communist infiltration in émigré organizations. Croatian Catholic priests warned against this. Even if some information originated from observers of Serbian background this does, however, not completely devalue the given facts.

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Luburić, Vjekoslav: „Šest malih ljudi, šest simbola (Život, rad, borba i smrt šestorice hrvatskih emigranata, koji su iz Amerike došli na Janka pustu).” Drina. Vjestnik Hrvatskih oružanih snaga 5,8-12 (1955): 137-154.

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Luburić, Vjekoslav: „Umro je ustaški odvjjetnik Georges Desbons.” Drina. Vjestnik Hrvatskih oružanih snaga 13,1 (1963): 201-208.

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McCormick, Rob: „The United States' Response to Genocide in the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945.” Genocide Studies and Prevention 3,1 (April 2008): 75-98.

The author opens with the assessment that in April 1941 the Ustaša began a genocide that killed at least 330,000 Serbs and essentially eliminated Jews and Roma from Croatia. He takes the American response to genocide in Croatia as a fuller context for examining Washington's reaction to the Nazi genocide. By the summer of 1941, the U.S. government had reliable information that genocide was taking place in Croatia. Conclusions: Washington expressed little interest in this slaughter, except insofar it affected Croatian-American and Serbian-American relations. It also made no direct public statement condemning the Ustaše's action and offered no protest to the Vatican. Croatian events, however, propelled the FBI and the Office of War Information to suppress pro-Ustaše supporters in the United States.

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Stojkov, Todor: „O takozvanom Ličkom ustanku 1932.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 2,2 (1970): 167-180.

Stojkov analyses the first and only Ustaša incursion from Italian ruled Zara (Zadar) into the Yugoslav interior in September 1932. After a nocturnal attack on a village police station the ten Ustaše retreated without having caused serious harm. Their attempt to trigger a revolt totally failed. They had already returned to Zara when the Yugoslav authorities undertook the reprisals against the inhabitants of the Velebit region. The action of the Ustaše in Lika worsened the already bad relations between Yugoslavia and Italy and brought the two countries to the brink of war. Stojkov has in great detail evaluated documents of the Yugoslav supreme court which at that time have been stored in the Archive of the Labour Movement of Yugoslavia.

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## 7. The Second Exile (1945 – 1991)

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Benigar, Aleksa: „Alojzije Stepinac. Hrvatski kardinal.” Rome 1974. 939 pages.

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Benković, Theodore: „The Tragedy of a Nation. An American's Eye-witness Report by Thodore [sic] Benković.” Chicago 1946. 69 pages.

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Bogdan, Ivo (ed.): „La tragedia de Bleiburg.” Buenos Aires 1963. 392 pages.

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Bušić, Bruno: „Hrvatski ustaše i komunisti.” Ed. by Rudolf Arapović. Washington D.C. 1979. 23 pages.

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Cecelja, Vilim: „Fünf Jahre seit dem Tode des Grossen Christlichen Bekenner und Märtyrers Aloysius Kardinal Stepinac.” Salzburg 1965.

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Ciliga, Ante: „Dokle će hrvatski narod stenjati pod srpskim jarnom? Diskusija o suvremenim problemima hrvatske politike.” Paris 1953. 87 pages.

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Shaw, Les: Trial by Slander. A Background to the Independent State of Croatia, and an Account of the Anti-Croatian Campaign in Australia. Canberra [1973]. 221 pages.

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Spasić, Božidar: „Lasica koja govori. Osnovne pretpostavke borbe protiv terorizma.” Belgrad 2000. 270 pages.

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Strangman, Denis: The ASIO-Croatian Affair of 1973. Canberra 1974.

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”The Geli-men. The Ustasha and Australia.” (= The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation). Brisbane 1972. 8 pages.

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Tkalčević, Mato: „Hrvati u Australiji.” Zagreb 1992. 273 pages.

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Uki, Goñi: „The Real Odessa. How Perón Brought the Nazi War Criminals to Argentine.” London, New York 2003. 410 pages.

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Verlichak, Carmen: „Los Croatas en La Argentina.” Buenos Aires 2005. 208 pages.

► Review by Željka Lovrenčić in Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2006: 257-260.

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Viscovich, Mario: „Relations among the Diaspora, the Croatian State, and Civil Society.” Parzin 2002. 62 pages.

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Vodinelić, Vladimir: „Deset verzija više jedna jednako istina. Zapisi o bonskom i stockholmskom procesu ustaškim teroristima.” Split 1973. 236 pages.

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Vukušić, Božo: „Tajni rat UDBE protiv hrvatskoga iseljništva.” 3rd ed. Zagreb 2002. 538 pages.

► Review by Krešimir Bušić in Društvena istraživanja 11,4-5 (2002): 829-833.

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Vukušić, Bože: „Tajni rat UDBE protiv hrvatskih iseljenika iz Bosne i Hercegovine.” 2nd ed. Zagreb, Ljubuški 2002. 642 pages.

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Vukušić, Bože: „HRB. Hrvatsko revolucionarno bratstvo – Rat prije rata.” Zagreb 2010. 646 pages.

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## 7.2.2. Articles

Aralica, Višeslav: „Tri sudbine Hrvatskih nacionalnih intelektualaca: Vinko Krišković, Julije Makanec, Ivo Bogdan.” 1945. - Razdjelnica hrvatske povijesti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Hrvatskom Institutu za Povijest u Zagrebu, 5. i 6. svibnja 2005., ed. by Nada Kisić-Kolanović. Zagreb 2006: 415-422.

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Bednjanec Vuković, Aleksandra: „Prilozi o NDH u časopisu 'Hrvatska revija' od 1951. do 1971. godine.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 32,1 (2000): 73-96.

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Blažeković, Milan: „Dr. Vjekoslav Vrančić.” Hrvatska revija 41,1-2 (1991): 251-254.

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Boban, Branka: „Vladko Maček u emigraciji – od izlaska iz zemlje do odlaska u Sjedinjene Američke Države.” Dijalog povijesničara – istoričara 10/2, ed. by Igor Graovac. Zagreb 2008: 7-24.

After internment in Jasenovac and house arrest during the NDH, Vladko Maček, the president of the HSS, decided to take the proposal of the Ustaša to leave the country, assuming that abroad he would have greater opportunities to stand up for organising free elections in the country, together with the Western Allies. The free elections would not only ensure democracy, but also enable him to return and continue his political work. Therefore, while in Paris, he visited the U.S. and British ambassadors, offering his cooperation, but without success. When he later concluded that he could not establish contact with the deputy president of Tito's government, and the former Vice-Roy of Banovina Hrvatska, Ivan Šubašić, and that the Communist government made an issue of his leaving the country, and after finding out about the bloody retaliation in the country ("Bleiburg"), he condemned the communist regime, and became a political emigrant. He worked on connecting all organisations and individual members of the HSS, active across Europe and North and South America, and tried to accomplish an agreement with the representatives of the Serbian political emigration, also sending memoranda to the representatives of the Great Four at the Peace Conference in the United Nations, with demands that the decisions made at the Yalta conference should be enforced, and to prevent the USSR from introducing Communist regimes all across Eastern Europe. With this aim, he also worked on rebuilding the Union of Agrarian Parties, under the name of International Peasants' Union. The Western Allies, however, were not ready to start a new World War with the aim of enforcing the Yalta conclusions. Instead, the Cold War started.

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Boban, Branka: „Vladko Maček u emigraciji – od izlaska iz zemlje do odlaska u SAD.” Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest 39 (2007): 243-258.

Based on the documents of the ex-Yugoslav secret police, the author reconstructed the first two years of Vladko Maček's emigration after the Second World War which he spent in Paris. While staying in Paris he met on several occasions with the ambassadors of the USA and the UK, offering his services, even ready for concessions to approach Tito's government. But finally his attempts to establish links with Ivan Šubasić (Tito's vice prime-minister and

member of Maček's Croatian Peasant Party – HSS) failed, and he became aware of the fact that he was wanted by the communist courts. He received knowledge of the atrocities committed by Tito's special units at the end of the war, publicly condemned Tito's communist regime and finally became a political emigrant. From that time onwards Maček was busy organizing his supporters and party members throughout the world, and on the other hand establishing links with the representatives of the Serbian political emigration, particularly with King Peter II and the Yugoslav National Committee in London. In his letters to the Allies and the newly formed UN he spoke against the establishment of communism in Yugoslavia and in the whole of Eastern Europe. His efforts, however, proved to be fruitless.

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Borić, Gojko: „Bivša politička emigracija i suvremena Hrvatska.” Hrvatska revija 46, 3-4 (1996): 419-426.

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Borić, Gojko: „Vinko Nikolić kao 'moj' urednik.” Hrvatska revija 47,3/4 (1997): 472-482.

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Borić, Gojko: „Hrvati u Njemačkoj.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2002. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2001: 139-157.

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Borić, Gojko: „Dijaspora i domovina.” Hrvatska revija. Obnovljeni tečaj 3,3 (2003): 4-8.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Croatian Embassy - „Hrvatska ambasada” u Canberri - 1977.-1978. (Uz 20. obljetnicu zatvaranja).” Društvena istraživanja. Časopis za opća društvena pitanja 8,1 (1999): 111-135.

Čizmić unfolds an example of the frequently undertaken simulation of statehood by the national activists: In November 1977 a group of Croatian political émigrés in Australia's capital Canberra opened a Croatian embassy. This particular act resulted in strong protests from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Australian government did not recognize the Croatian embassy since it did not represent an existing state. The Croatian embassy, however, continued its activities for almost two years because at the time Australia did not have a law for closing it down. After being passed in parliament and the senate, the Diplomatic and Consular Mission Act took effect on 24th August 1978. This act banned the work of the Croatian embassy. Discussions led among the representatives indicate how divided they were in relation to former Yugoslavia and the political demands of Croatian immigrants. After several lawsuits in the Australian courts of justice started by the representative of Yugoslavia Mario Dešpoja, the embassy was finally closed down by judicial order. The Croatian embassy had been in the centre of attention for almost two years, not only in Australia, but in other countries with Croatian immigrants as well, which was precisely the intention of its founders. At the time of the writing the archival files were still not accessible so that his study is largely based on the published Australian parliament debates as well as émigré and Australian press reports.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Protesti protiv Jugoslavije.” Hrvatska revija. Obnovljeni tečaj 2,4 (2002): 73-80.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Hrvatska ambasada u Canberri 1977.-1979.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2007. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2006: 189-196.

A Croatian embassy was opened in Canberra, the Australian capital, on November 29th of 1977. In opening the embassy Australia's Croatians wished to proclaim before the world the Croatian nation's desire and determination to achieve its own democratic and free state, challenging the Yugoslav embassy's right to represent it and speak on its behalf. For twenty-three months the Croatian embassy was the subject of widespread attention and deserves as such a special place in modern Croatian history as one of the most brilliant undertakings of the Croatian political emigration. Notably, not a single Australian law was breached in establishing the Croatian embassy. The Croatian embassy in Canberra started and ended as a Croatian-wide action with the unconditional support of all Croatian associations and organisations in Australia, providing massive moral and material assistance.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Hrvatsko narodno vijeće”. Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2005. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2004: 145-155.

The Croatian National Council (HNV) was founded in Toronto in 1974. The development of political circumstances in Croatia, the appearance of nationalist aspirations among the Croatian Communists that led to the Croatian Spring and the events following the decisions made in Karađorđevo in late 1971 to suppress the „mass movement”, showed to the emigration once more the need for unification to take an active part in the fight for the restoration of Croatian national statehood. Čizmić sees the arrival of ever larger numbers of Croats to Western Europe for temporary jobs as a challenge for the political emigration to make that segment of the Croatian population become nationally aware and include them in the common fight. Through publications abroad, writings and networks, all this contributed to develop a fruitful exchange of opinion, suggestions and discussions over the need to unify the state-forming efforts into a central body, and about its structure and its tasks. The Croatian Parliament in Chicago was held on November 23-25, 1973, under the auspices of the United American Croats and the United Croatian Fund. Following the spirit of this Parliament, and taking into account that the continental councils had already been founded all over the world, the representatives of the Continental Councils of South America and North America, convinced in complete maturing of the idea about establishing of a central Croatian representation, announced officially that the session for founding of the Parliament would be held in Toronto, Canada, on 1-3 February. With this, and the foundation of the Councils in all the continents, there was no difficulty for a successful organization of a common political body anymore. The Croatian National Council founding session in Toronto on 1-3 February, 1974, was attended by representatives of all the political parties, with the exception of HSS (Croatian Peasant Party) and HOP (Croatian Liberation Movement), the representatives of the continental councils, other Croatian associations and organizations, and a series of more or less outstanding public personalities, independent intellectuals active in various social, cultural, educational and sport institutions. Even more, some prominent people from the HSS, the most famous of them being Dr. Dinko Šuljak and Dr. Stanko Vujica, attended the meeting privately. The basic document of the Croatian National Council approved during the session in

Toronto was the Constitution. It also included the principles of the program, according to which the main task of the Croatian National Council, as a non-party Croatian body, was to actively support the Croatian people in all ways and with all possible means in the struggle for its demands and attempts to gain their own independent state.

The Council had a historic role in bringing together the Croatian political organizations, and in guiding their common efforts towards the realization of the independent Croatian state. In this way, the Council became the most representative Croatian political organization of émigré Croats since WWII. When the ideals of independence eventually began to take shape in 1989 with forming of a multi-party system and establishing of independent Croatia in 1990, consistent with its political program, the Croatian National Council ceased its activity. This had been foreseen and prescribed in the Constitution of the Croatian National Council, i.e. that the organization would cease to exist with the inauguration of the Croatian Parliament in Zagreb.

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Čizmić, Ivan: „Začetak nacionalne pomirbe egzilanata i hrvatskih komunista.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2008. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2007: 237-246.

The author asserts that the Declaration on the Name and the Status of the Croatian Language was the first link in a chain of events opening the path to the Constitution of 1974 on the basis of which Croatian independence was declared in 1991. The publishing of the Declaration on the Name and the Status of the Croatian Language in the Zagreb *Telegram* in March of 1967 is considered to be the beginning of the Croatian Spring. It demanded the equal status of the languages of all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. Among the authors and signatories of the Declaration were a number of Croatian intellectuals gathered round the Matrica Hrvatska and other pre-eminent research institutions.

As the Declaration was supported by the Croatian emigrant communities the author considers it the beginning of the national reconciliation of the Croatian political emigration and Croatian Communists. Croatian intellectuals in exile translated it into the world's major languages in order to make it available to the international public. The basic premise of the Declaration was that the ambiguous formulation of “Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian language” in the Constitution of the former Yugoslavia allowed for the Serbian language to be imposed by force as the sole language for Serbs and Croats. The Declaration was debated at the highest institutions of the former Yugoslavia. Its signatories were sharply attacked and condemned – especially the Matrica Hrvatska and its membership. But in spite of the harsh reaction of the then leading circles of the Communist Party and the negative consequences that the Matrica Hrvatska suffered immediately afterwards, the event marked a watershed in the open activities of its members in the struggle for fundamental Croatian national interests. The years 1970 to 1971 mark a period of a mass movement and the Croatian Spring.

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Čolak, Nikola: „Naših dvadeset godina šutnje.” Zvono. Janjevački godišnjak 3 (1997): 17-72.

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Čudina, Ante/ Milenković, Dragan/ Veličković, Milica: „Terorizam i sredstva javnog informiranja.” Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke 36,1-2 (1980): 197-224.

Mass media, the article makes clear, play a rather important role and the one of a delicate character in treating terrorism and violence. At the one hand, their task is to objectively,

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timely and in complex manner inform the public on actions and intents, as well as on social causes and the essence of terrorism, while, on the other hand, by their total engaging and way of providing information, they are bound to influence the understanding of the causes and goals of terrorism, in order to move the society to condemn this evil.

Due to the complexity and scope of an eventual analysis of foreign mass media, in the article only anti-Yugoslav terrorism in the world is reviewed. According to the author the activity of the „Fascist emigration” originating in Yugoslavia was treated by Western mass media from the class, i.e. bourgeois positions, while the reactionary part of the press attempted to view such activity as a 'democratic opposition'. There have been, however, also tendencies of impartial and correct interpretations of the phenomenon.

In the Eastern European socialist countries, the interpretation of anti-Yugoslav terrorism is connected to the perception of the emigration as Fascist and to the attempts of restoring Nazi-Fascist ideology both in Europe and in the world in general. At the same time, the mass media of these countries explain the attempts of organizing and activity by the Inform-bureau emigration against the social order of Yugoslavia as a provocation by the West in order to spoil 'the good relations between the brother socialist countries'.

The conclusion is that the Yugoslav mass media promptly and correctly informed the public on all most important aspects of international and anti-Yugoslav terrorism, on the basic socio-political sources of that terrorism, and on its historical roots, connections and treatment in various countries. Claiming to present the causes, i.e. Fascism, is presented here as an advantage in comparison to the Western media but actually fell short in showing the developments among the exiles and served to demonize the political emigration.

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Despot, Zvonimir: „Plan Deseti travanj i(li) operacija Gvardijan.” Podravski zbornik 26/27 (2000/2001): 161-175.

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Domini, Mirjana (ed.): „Tribuna: Intelektualci u dijaspori.” Migracijske teme 9,1 (1993): 11-66.

The written result of discussions on the subject of „Intellectuals in the Diaspora”, which were carried out by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies of the University of Zagreb in co-operation with the Croatian Homeland Foundation in early 1993 is shown in this collection of three „stages”. Each „stage” (or panel) comprises several participants like Nikola Vinkolić who points out the discrepancy between the highly educated exile and the common people abroad (p. 19) and Dr. Zdravko Sančević who calls the USA and Venezuela his host countries told his experience of leaving at a young age and being educated abroad, influenced by the intellectuals of the Croatian community. He also emphasizes on the diversity of the Croatian diaspora. Ivona Dončević was on the editing board of the German-based *Kroatische Berichte* (Croatian Reports) with a circulation of 2,500 and remembers how the president of the Yugoslav Federation has tackled personally the German chancellor Helmut Kohl after the HNV had opened a Croatian Information Bureau in Bonn, the German governmental centre, in 1985 (p. 41). The third panel is dedicated to the Croatian émigré press landscape abroad. Nardi Čanić analysed Canada where the HSS press in British Columbia (*Croatian Voice* and *Glasnik Hrvatske seljačke stranke*) ceased to appear in the early 1990s. Ivan Butković sheds light on the past conditions in Australia where for example in Wallongong near Sydney the modest print shop „Hrvatsko društvo 'Jure Francetić’” opened in the 60s. „Zagreb”, another one, published

*Uzdanica – Mjesečnika hrvatske mladeži* were released in ten numbers at the beginning of the 70s. Ante Babić, who left Croatia in 1968, reflects upon the press affiliated to the HSS in Australia.

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Dončević, Ivona: „*Studia Croatica i Kroatische Berichte*.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2006. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2005: 143-151.

The *Studia Croatica* quarterly, featuring many indispensable Spanish-language articles in the fields of Croatian culture and history was delivered, free-of-charge from 1960 to 1992, to 134 institutions (universities, libraries) in 34 countries. This circle of *Studia Croatica* readers was significantly widened in the 1990s with an on-line version created for the Internet by the present Editor-in-Chief Joza Vrljičak. The *Kroatische Berichte* magazine, published in the German language (1976-1990) by the Mainz-based Community for the Study of the Croatian Issues, was initially edited by Tomislav Mičić, later by Ivona Dončević and Stjepan Šulek. Both magazines are considered exceptionally important in spreading a picture apart from the Socialist Yugoslav media about the Croatian nation and its culture in the 20th century, when many esteemed Croatian magazines, like *Nova Hrvatska* (New Croatia) and *Hrvatska revija* (The Croatian Review), were active in the emigration. *Studia Croatica* and *Kroatische Berichte* are regarded as magazines that immeasurably contributed to the struggle of the Croatian people for an independent state.

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Dulić, Tomislav: „Tito's Slaughterhouse. A Critical Analysis of Rummel's Work on Democide.” Journal of Peace Research 41,1 (2004): 85-103.

The article provides a critical analysis of the quantitative method used by Rudolph J. Rummel for his work „Death by government” in order to estimate the democide rate for various political systems in the 20th century. The first part severely doubts that the estimates used by Rummel for Tito's Yugoslavia can be relied upon, since they are largely based on unscholarly claims frequently made by highly biased authors. Such authors can primarily be found among the exiles, in the first line Croatian exiles referring to Bleiburg. Hence, here we find a scholarly debate around a result of the numerical data given in exile publications. Dulić blames Rummel for a lack of source criticism.

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Geiger, Vladimir: „Osvrt na važnju literaturu o Bleiburgu 1945.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 35,1 (2003): 189-216.

The author presents all important literature (historical, but also memoirs and publicist writing), covering the events of May 1945, during the last days of World War II, when the Yugoslav army attempted to encircle and capture German and Croatian troops withdrawing through Slovenia towards Austria. During the negotiations at Bleiburg (Austria) British forces decided to hand over to the Yugoslav army a large number of Croatian soldiers and civilians, but also members of Slovenian, Serbian and Montenegrin anticommunist forces. All these soldiers and civilians attempted to surrender to the Western Allies. Instead, they were returned to Yugoslavia. Many were executed in Slovenia (Dravograd, Maribor), others were forced to march to prison camps in various parts of Yugoslavia. The author presents all important literature which covers these events (Yugoslav socialist historiography, work of Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian political exiles, works of German, British and Italian

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historiography). The existence of a huge amount of literature covering the Bleiburg events is obvious, but it is also clear that a comprehensive critical study on these events does not exist, although they are regarded as very important in modern Croatian history.

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Goda, Norman J.: „The Ustaša. Murder and Espionage.” U.S. Intelligence and the Nazis. Breitman, Richard et al. New York 2005: 203-226.

Under the 1998 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act many U.S. files were declassified. Using these documents, predominantly of the CIA, the author, at the time of the publication an associate professor of History at Ohio University, unfolds the role of the Catholic Church in wartime Croatia and the story of the escapes of Ustaša stakeholders to overseas destinations thereafter (pp. 210-216). Particulars about Krunoslav Draganović (who did not die in 1979 but in 1983, cf. p. 19) in the service of the U.S. Army Intelligence from May 1959 to January 1962 (pp. 217-219). As the source basis is, compared to what is still waiting in stock, rather narrow this valuable contribution should be taken as a starting point for a combination with sources of Croatian and Yugoslav provenience.

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Grečić, Vladimir: „Ethnic Identity and United States-Yugoslav Relations.” Medjunarodni Problemi 39,4 (1987): 426-437.

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Grubišić, Vinko: „Bleiburg u egzilskoj i domovinskoj Hrvatskoj književnosti do 1990.” Hrvatska revija 46, 1 (1996): 61-78.

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Hrastović, Ivica: „Ante Moškov – Uloga u stvaranju i propasti NDH.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 31,1 (1999): 127-150.

Ante Moškov (b. 1911) emigrated from Yugoslavia in 1933 and joined the Ustaša (First Emigration, p. 130-133). Participated in the NDH as a high ranking officer of Ante Pavelić's bodyguard. In 1945 he prepared the transport for Vladko Maček into his exile. In his Second Exile (p. 145-149) he carried some amounts of gold from the NDH with him and tried to organize armed resistance against the Communist Partisan government in Croatia. Arrested in October 1946 by the British in northern Italy. Extradited to Yugoslavia in spring 1947 and sentenced to death. The author comes to the conclusion that Moškov was a patriot.

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Ivanović, Vladimir: „Ekstremna emigracija u SR Nemačkoj i Jugoslavija.” Istorija 20. veka (1/2009): 139-147.

First of all demonstrates the conflict of the laws applicable to foreigners in the FRG and the international Geneva Convention on refugees and thus points to the legal difficulties in closing down the organized and disturbing émigré activities in the years from 1950 to 1970. Another problem existed in proving a direct link-up between criminal individuals and exile organizations. Due to the need of assistance the unregulated labour emigration to the FRG until the mid-1960s was prone to influences by political émigrés who offered services with the result of establishing contacts to the newcomers. But the new Social-Liberal German

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government was ready for concessions regarding the protection of the Gastarbeiter from undesired influences. For the first time in 1969 the assembly to be held in Stuttgart commemorating the 10th April 1941 was forbidden. Despite all the goodwill from the West German government the situation around the militant exiles remained tense. Although Ivanović is able to prove a giving in by the Germans, the Yugoslav demands soon went beyond this point. Note: Jelić's HNO was not founded in 1961 but in 1951 (p. 141).

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Jandrić, Berislav: „Stajališta hrvatske političke emigracije o Hrvatskom proljeću iznesena u najznačajnijem emigranstkome časopisu Hrvatskoj Reviji.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 35,2 (2003): 431-461.

Using the articles from the most important Croatian émigré review *Hrvatska revija*, which was published in Argentina, the author tries to present views of the Croatian émigrés on political, social and cultural events and developments in Croatia during the Croatian Spring movement in 1971. There is no doubt that 10th conference of the Central Committee of the Croatian League of Communists and 21st conference of the Presidency of the Yugoslav league of communists were seen as a turning point which led to fall of the Croatian Spring movement and subsequently to persecution of all important persons who had participated in that movement. All these events were covered in many various articles that were published in *Hrvatska revija*.

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Jandrić, Berislav: „Hrvatska politička emigracija (prema prilogima iz Hrvatske revije) o zbivanjima u Hrvatskoj tijekom 1971./1972. godine.” Dijalog povjesničara-istoričara, vol. 8. Međunarodni skup Dijalog povjesničara-istoričara Zadar 2003, ed. by Hans-Georg Fleck/Igor Graovac. Zagreb 2004: 261-278.

In the early 1970s the Croatian Spring (Hrvatsko proljeće) and the mass movement (maspok) in Croatia were subdued by state repression, and their initiators and supporters indicted and tried for counterrevolutionary activism. These events were crucial for history of the second Yugoslavia and took place between 1970 and 1972. They became corner stones of modern Croatian history because they shook the foundations of the Communist system – the party monopoly of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia/Croatia. The Croatian Review (*Hrvatska revija*), a famous magazine of Croatian political emigrants, followed these fateful events with great attention.

Among other things Croatia's demands included: the solution of interethnic problems and social, economic and constitutional reforms. Josip Broz Tito at first supported the Croatian party leadership, but later fearing the loss of power condemned the positions of Croatian liberals, considering them to be the main culprit for the rise of nationalism not only in Croatia, but also in Serbia and Slovenia. That is one of the main reasons why Croatian political emigrants considered Tito to be the main cause (together with Yugoslav Army/YA (Jugoslavenska armija/ JA), Serbs in Croatia and pro-Yugoslav oriented Croatians) for the crush of Croatian Spring and the mass movement (maspok).

Nevertheless, a part of the emigrants was dissatisfied with these events, as well as with the role and positions that Croatian communists had in them, admitting however their credit. Afterwards, the emigrants realized and unwillingly acknowledged that the conflict was not only between Tito and the YA (JA) on the one hand and liberal political leadership of Croatia on the other, but also with the similar leadership of Serbia. In conclusion however, they were



not happy with the behaviour of Croatia's political leadership, and after the mass movement ended, they believed that the Croatian people were betrayed and deceived by its leaders' resignations and self-criticism.

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Jandrić, Berislav: „Saveznički izbjeglički logori. Počeci otpora Hrvatske političke emigracije komunističkom režimu u domovinu (logor Fermo).” 1945. - Razdjelnica hrvatske povijesti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Hrvatskom Institutu za Povijest u Zagrebu, 5. i 6. svibnja 2005., ed. by Nada Kisić-Kolanović. Zagreb 2006: 305-322.

Jandrić of the Croatian Institute for History offers a detailed introduction of the immediate history and political environment in which the refugees from Croatia have been placed at the end of the Second World War. He divides them into three types: the nostalgists, the opportunists and the extremists. The article continues to approach the numerous refugee camps in Austria, Germany and Italy where Croats have been placed and it finally focuses on the camp at Fermo, Italy. Fermo was surrounded by a Catholic clerical based infrastructure of economic and administrative aid for Croatian political refugees. Most prominent among those institutions which were directing assistance to the émigrés was the Zagrebačka menza in Rome. It was financed by the Vatican. Jandrić demonstrates the various efforts made to organize the camp life and turns to the precarious social situation of the inmates. He lists a great deal of exile literature and also takes into consideration documents from the Croatian state archive.

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Jandrić, Berislav: „Oblici oporbenog djelovanja u sklopu komunističkog sustava (Djelovanje hrvatske političke emigracije).” Hrvatska politika u XX. Stoljeću. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u palati Matice hrvatske od 27. do 29. travnja 2004., ed. by Ljubomir Andrić. Zagreb 2006: 389-413.

Based on new archival material, the author has endeavoured briefly to bring together the opposition activity of Croatian political émigrés against the Communist regime at home. Discontented with the persecutions, injustice and inimical viewpoints to Croats and Croatia that were perpetrated by the new government and the Communists, and wishing to resurrect the NDH, unable to forget the massacres of Croats at and after Bleiburg, they most often made use of sabotage and terrorism, which was the most common method for opposition activities against Communism at home and abroad. These actions were criticised and condemned worldwide, and – as the author concludes – contributed nothing to the overthrow of the Communist regime and the establishment of a new independent state of Croatia.

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Jandrić, Berislav: „Prijeponi saveznika oko zahtjeva Jugoslavije za izručenjem osumnjičenih za ratne zločine iz savezničkih izbjegličkih logora u Italiji 1945. - 1947.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 38,2 (2006): 457-498.

On the basis of new archival material, the author discusses the views, lack of effect, and conflicts among the Western Allies regarding the Yugoslav government's demand for extradition of Yugoslavian and Italian war criminals. On the first ten pages Jandrić gives an introduction of the Yugoslav involvement in the international efforts for sanctions against war

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criminals in the aftermath of the Second World War. He goes on to examine the diplomatic exchange between the Yugoslav government and the Western Allies about the extradition of certain war crime suspects from territories under their control (especially Italy). Among those listed by the Yugoslav representatives was a large number of Croatian fugitives (p. 471-473). Jandrić shows some original documents from the archive of the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry where most of the sources have been obtained. The text deals especially with the Yugoslav search for Italian war criminals and thus does not always primarily concern the Croatian fugitives.

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Jandrić, Berislav: „Hrvatska politička emigracija u Njemačkoj 1946.-1956. godine.” Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara, vol. 10/2. Međunarodni skup Dijalog povjesničara-istoričara Osijek 22.-25. rujna 2005, ed. by Igor Graovac. Zagreb 2008: 63-79.

Unlike other European countries, most Croats who came to West Germany did so as labour force before or during the Second World War. Later, after the breakdown of the NDH), after several hundreds of thousands of Croats (both civilian and military persons with their families) retreated from Croatia, in order to settle in the West and find salvation from the Communist regime (similar to members of other nations of Eastern and Central Europe, who fled from the newly established regimes in their homelands, and who were all labelled as DP (= displaced persons, persons without a homeland, state or citizenship). They were joined by many others, looking for shelter in the refugee camps established by the Allies, primarily in Italy, Austria and Western Germany. In order to cut costs, in May 1946, the UK government adopted a decision on moving the refugees from Italian camps under its command to the camps established by the Allies in the Western Germany. Due to this, a large number of refugee Croats were moved to the Federal Republic of Germany, and many of them were opposed to communism in their homeland, so that at the beginning of 1946, they attempted to organise and unify themselves within a single organisation, such as the Croatian Academic Club Stepinac in Munich. However, this Club did not have a permit of the Allied Occupation Forces, which would allow it to operate, so that it was active as a member of the International Catholic Union (UNITAD). The club changed names, searching for the most suitable one (Croatian Catholic Community, and later Croatian Fraternal Community). Later, in 1948, the Croatian Fraternal Community also temporarily changed its name into the Central Committee of Croatian Political Refugees and DPs – Munich, Bavaria. Only after Branimir Jelić, Ph.D., came back from London, where he was politically active for a long time, and where he established the Society of Croats of Great Britain, a serious initiative was started in Munich to establish a single organisation, which would gather all Croats.

Jelić succeeded, by sending a Message (later proclaimed as Resolution) to the members of the Society of Croats of Great Britain, to initiate the establishment of a single organisation under the name of Croatian National Committee (HNO), which would represent the Croats in emigration, take care of the refugees, and be the carrier of the fight for the establishment of a free and independent Croatia. In doing so, he gained strong support from across the world, so that on 10-11 February 1951, the Founding Assembly took place in Munich, and the HNO was established. B. Jelić was elected its president. During some twenty years of activity, the HNO established a large number of branches in many countries, and Munich (i.e. Federal Republic of Germany) became the strongest centre of political emigration in the fight against the communist regime in Yugoslavia. In its work, the HNO had its ups and downs, it survived the organisational changes and conflicts among its political leaders, but two objectives were



always constant: the overthrow of the communist government and the establishment of a free and independent Croatia. Jelić, the founder of the HNO, after two assassination attempts died on 31 May 1972.

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Jareb, Jere: „Prilog povijesti hrvatskog iseljništva u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama 1941.-1947.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 37,1 (2005): 37-70.

Dealing with the political activities of some Croatian immigrants in the USA from 1941 to 1947. They were advocates of an independent Croatian state and opposed the restoration of Yugoslavia. The article is largely based on documents from the documentary collection of Rudolf Erić who was a prominent Croatian immigrant from Akron, Ohio, and an outstanding member of the Croatian Home Defender (Hrvatski Domobran) organization. After its dissolution in May 1941, some of its former members in Akron continued with their political activities within the frame of American Croatian Citizens Club and, together with Ivan Stipanović as a prominent priest and the leader of the Croatian Circle (Hrvatsko Kolo) in North America, founded an organization in opposition to Tito (the Supreme Council of American Croats in Chicago, September 1943, in October 1944 renamed into Movement of American Croats for Democratic Freedom of Croatia. In a memorandum of early December 1944 the Movement's members attempted to inform the American authorities and public about crimes committed by Italian Fascists and German Nazis, Četniks and Tito's partisans. Furthermore, it demanded the establishment of an independent and democratic Croatian state.

Some of Croatian immigrants who had been supporting Tito during the war realized by 1945 that the Partisans' government was about to impose an autocracy across the newly established communist Yugoslavia. They withdrew their support and, like Ivan Butković, the former president of the CFU, joined those forces that were demanding the establishment of independent Croatia. The Croatian Congress (Hrvatski Zbor), designed to unify the Croatian political organizations in the U.S., took place in Chicago on 9 December 1945. The appeal of the Croatian Congress called for a „sovereign Croatian state, which will be surrounded by the ethnic and historical borders” (quoted on p. 51).

In the meantime Butković had founded the Alliance of American Croats that initially accepted Yugoslavia but called for Croatian self-determination and free elections. But already in March 1946 the Alliance joined newly formed United Croats of America and thus rejected the Yugoslav idea. In January 1946 the Movement for Democratic Freedom of Croatia issued a memorandum to the United Nations presenting results of communist oppression in Croatia. Finally, on the meeting of different political groups in Cleveland in March 1946, independence activists called into being the United Croats of America and Canada, an organization that became the central Croatian anti-Communist organization in the U.S. demanding the establishment of an independent Croatian state.

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Josipović, Slađana: „Politizacija pokopa Ivana Meštrovića.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 39,2 (2007): 319-338.

The main parameters of this article are the events relating to the organization and celebration of the funeral of Ivan Meštrović, the world-renowned Croatian sculptor, who died on January 16, 1962, in South Bend (USA) in the 79th year of his life. Besides bringing to light differences between the state authorities and the Meštrović family, this work closely examines the relations between the communist government and the Catholic Church, due to which the funeral or a prominent Croatian artist was transformed into a political event. Since these

events received a lot of publicity in the international press, talks between the representatives of the Commission for Religious Affairs and the Catholic Church began a few days after the funeral's conclusion in order to dispel some of the bad press directed at the Yugoslavian government. In addition to these events, the introduction to this article provides information about the time Meštrović spent in Switzerland and the United States, and the efforts of the Communist regime to have him return to Yugoslavia in the early days of its takeover of power.

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Jurčević, Josip: „Prinosi iseljništva uspostavi Hrvatske države.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2006. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2005: 39-46.

Proceeds on the assumption that Croatia's emigrants considerably contributed to the establishment of the independent Croatian state, thereby deserving a significant place in recent Croatian history. Croatia, as an European country from which a process of emigration was ongoing throughout the entire 20th century, left behind a majority of emigrant Croats who had left their Homeland against their wills, desires or convictions. It is understandable that they endeavoured to maintain a bond with the Homeland. This can be best seen insofar as the organised forms of social, cultural, religious and political life in the emigration are rooted in the Croatian national identity. Organised Croatian emigrant life, however, besides nurturing identity and memories, had the objective of, as directly and as intensively as possible, working towards a change of the situation in the Homeland. Several decades of continued and intensive state-building activity in emigrant Croatia, asserts the author, led to a political maturity in the Croatian emigration that made it a community fully prepared to actively participate in the massive historic changes that, at the end of the 1980s, began more and more rapidly to unfold across eastern Europe and in the Croatian lands.

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Jurjević, Marjan: „Migrants and Fascist Politics in Australia.” Ekstasis 6/1973: 15-19.

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Katalanić, Kazimir: „Binomij Oršanić – Žanko.” Marulić. Hrvatska književna revija 32,4 (1999): 670-703.

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Kušan, Jakša: „Hrvatski glas iz Fleet streeta. 'Nova Hrvatska'.” Hrvatska revija 47,2 (1997): 349-355.

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Lane, Ann Jane: „Putting Britain Right with Tito. The Displaced Persons Question in Anglo-Yugoslav Relations 1946-7.” European History Quarterly 22,2 (1992): 217-246.

Lane shows how the question on the surrender of war criminals started to play a significant role in the relations of Great Britain with the United States and Yugoslavia. In late 1946 British Foreign minister decided to „put Britain right with Tito” and therefore envisaged the handing over of war crime suspects as a concession to the newly established Communist government. Since the Americans began to oppose such steps, a diplomatic quarrel with the other big Western Ally became inevitable. Primarily based on files of the British Foreign Office Lane's analysis uncovers the relevance of the „DP question” in Anglo-American-Yugoslav relations and comes to the conclusion that the Bled Agreement between the U.K. and Yugoslavia of September 1947 was a success as it both recognized the legitimacy of Yugoslav claims and

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enhanced Tito's position on a bilateral level. In fact, however, the agreement contributed very little to a solution of the war criminal problem.

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Laušić, Ante: „Republika Hrvatska i njezina dijaspora.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2001. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2000: 11-17.

The complex relationship between the Republic of Croatia and its diaspora can be gleaned from the relationship between the diaspora and the Hrvatska Matica Iseljenika, i.e. the society of the Croatian Mother soil of the Émigrés, which had been founded in 1951. As a mediator between the homeland and the Croats abroad it shared the fate of political developments and the attitudes of the Yugoslav leadership towards the political behavior of the diaspora. Every criticism of Croatian émigrés toward the homeland authorities was felt by the Hrvatska Matica Iseljenika on its back. A particularly challenging period lasted from the election of the late Većeslav Holjevac to the society's presidency in 1964, until after the Karađorđevo meeting and the collapse of the Croatian Spring in late 1971. At that point the Hrvatska Matica Iseljenika was accused of being a nationalist organization and was almost eliminated. The pro-sovereignty Croatian émigrés gave the authorities many an excuse to crack down on the Society. The author also emphasizes that the „watershed years” of 1990-1992 were not especially fruitful for the Hrvatska Matica Iseljenika.

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Maršić, Suzana: „Hrvatska akademija Amerike.” Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2004. Ed. by Vesna Kukavica. Zagreb 2003: 219-231.

The Croatian Academy of America (CAA) was founded on April 19, 1953. Its seat is in New York, and it was formed thanks to an initiative by Clement S. Mihanovich (1913-1998), Walter J. Reeve (1915-1958), and a well-known Croatian emigrant poet, Antonio Nizeteo (1913-2000). Its objective has been to study Croatian literature, culture and history in North America. The first president was Clement S. Mihanovich, and the current president is Vedran Joseph Nazor. When formed the Academy had 17 members. At the beginning of the 21st century, it has 274. Walter J. Reeve is considered by many the spiritual father of the CAA, as well as of its prestigious journal, The Journal of Croatian Studies.

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Maslić, Andjelko: „Terorizam fašističke emigracije porijeklom iz Jugoslavije.” Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke 36,1-2 (1980): 77-92.

States that most of the Yugoslav „Fascist emigration” organizations were direct followers or descendants of pre-war Fascist type organizations and those organized during the war. This emigration was most numerous in Australia, North and South America and Europe. In Europe strongest in the FRG, France, Sweden, Great Britain, Austria and Belgium. Existing émigré organizations recruited in various ways several thousand extremist members, 1,100 of which were considered terrorists. Draws a numeric picture of the violent actions. According to the author, these outrages were forming a constituent part of international terrorism because its determinations and ends were „counter-revolutionary”, in function of and conjunction with those forces and groups – official and non-official – that incessantly planned and realized subversive activity against the SFRY. Contrary to many countries in the world did not have interior terrorism, the author asserts. Comes to the conclusion that successful resistance

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against violent attempts was a confirmation that the Socialist self-management society has built the most efficient protection not only from terrorist activities but from other assaults of interior and exterior enemies as well. The article opens with a quotation from Friedrich Engels and closes with a quotation of Josip Broz Tito.

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Maslić, Andjelko: „Terrorism by Fascist Emigration of Yugoslav Origin.” Socialist Thought and Practice. A Yugoslav Monthly 21,3 (1981): 49-64.

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Matković, Hrvoje: „Prilog proučavanju političke djelatnosti Jurja Krnjevića.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 34,1 (2002): 93-106.

After the Axis forces had invaded the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, Vladko Maček who was the deputy prime minister of the Yugoslav government and leader of the Croat Peasant Party (HSS) left Belgrade and returned to Zagreb. He appointed Juraj Krnjević to take over his duties in the government. Krnjević joined the government which left the country and in the exile acted as the representative of the HSS, whose policy was the post-war re-establishment of the Yugoslav state along with the re-establishment of the autonomous Croatian Banovina which had already existed from 1939-1941. Krnjević renounced the Ustaša regime headed by Ante Pavelić, which came to power in Croatia after the collapse of Yugoslavia. At the same time he fought against the Serb politicians in the government who wanted to establish a Serbian dominated Yugoslavia after the war. Krnjević's views were the most strongly expressed in his speech at the Radio London in the summer of 1941 and in the memorandum written by a group of the exiled Croat politicians in the end of that same year. Particular attention must be given to the Krnjević's memorandum sent to the British government in 1943. It contained answers to the British interpellation sent to Krnjević. The memorandum explains the aims of the Croatian politics as seen by the HSS: After the war Croatian the state would remain part of the Yugoslav state. Croatian borders would be even enlarged in comparison with the autonomous Croatian Banovina which was established in 1939. Krnjević defended his views at the conferences of the exiled Yugoslav government, which often confronted him with the Serbian ministers, especially with prime minister Slobodan Jovanović.

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Matković, Hrvoje: „Razgovor s dr. Jerom Jarebom u povodu 80. godišnjice njegova života.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 34,3 (2002): 919-938.

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Novinščak, Karolina: „From 'Yugoslav Gastarbeiter' to 'Diaspora Croats'. Policies and Attitudes towards Emigration in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia.” Postwar Mediterranean Migration to Western Europe. Legal and Political Frameworks, Sociability and Memory Cultures, ed. by Clelia Caruso, Jenny Pleinen, Lutz Raphael. Frankfurt/M. et al. 2008: 125-143.

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Očak, Ivan: „Dr. Ante Ciliga. Otpadnik komunizma i staljinske čistke.” Radovi. Zavod za Hrvatsku Povijest 22 (1989): 267-296.

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The aim of this study is to throw light on the first period and to uncover Ante Ciliga's struggle and his attitude towards Stalin's purges as witness and victim. It is stated in the preamble to the present study that the biography of a renegade communist is not frequently treated in Yugoslav historiography. It is usually done when such a 'hero' has to be rehabilitated, which is not the intention of the present study. In the historiographic introduction, which follows, it is stressed that the present theme has not yet been historiographically investigated. The first part of the paper presents a short biography and an account of Ciliga's revolutionary activities. Judging by its periodization the life of Ciliga falls into two periods: first, the revolutionary period from 1918 to the thirties, and the second, the anti-communist one, from the late thirties to the 1980s.

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Penava, Šimun: „Bugojanska skupina. Prijedlog deklaracije o pokušaju ustanka za hrvatsku državnu nezavisnost u okolici Bugojna godine 1972. (prijedlog, zapisnik sa sjednice Sabora, fonogram...)” Ramski zbornik (2001): 139-161.

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Perić, Marina: „Političke promjene u Hrvatskoj i hrvatski iseljenički tisak u Čileu.” Migracijske i etničke teme 21,1-2 (2005): 69-89.

Gives an overview on the Croatian émigré press in Chile through five historical periods (before World War I, during World War I, between the two world wars, during World War II, and after World War II). Parallels are drawn between political changes in Croatia and changes in the contents and themes of the émigré press. One émigré paper is analysed for each historical period, via the content analysis method, and front-page articles are taken as the units of analysis. Apart from the contents of the messages, their form is analysed, so as to assess opinions that the senders of the messages transmit to their receivers. Based on the analysis of the newspapers, the author concludes that changes in Croatia had an important influence on the émigré press, which was especially visible in the period during World War I and World War II. In the period from World War I onwards, headings and themes in the emigrant press were used to propagate Yugoslavism and a sense of belonging to the Yugoslav nation and state. The identity of the emigrants changed under the influence of political changes in Croatia. Up to World War I they were mainly anti-Austrian oriented, and in the next four periods they accepted the state and the government of both the first and the second Yugoslavia, identifying themselves with Yugoslavia, and raising their descendants in a Yugoslav spirit. An example showing along the press landscape on the South American west coast that a chauvinistic long-distance nationalism did not prevail among all of the Croatian diaspora communities.

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Perić, Ratko: „Iz korespondencije Meštrović-Kamber.” Hrvatska revija 43,2-3 (1993): 290-332.

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Petković, Ranko: „Fašistička emigracija iz Jugoslavije i njeni pokrovitelji.” Pregled. Časopis za društvena pitanja 70,3 (1980): 439-450.

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Przybylski, Peter: „Westdeutschland – Tummelplatz faschistischer Emigrantenorganisationen.” Deutsche Außenpolitik 10/1964: 961-970.

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Radelić, Zdenko: „Vodstvo ustaškog pokreta i križari 1945.-1948.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 33,1 (2001): 19-40.

On the basis of only previously inaccessible archival documents and secondary literature, the author shows the aims of the Ustaša movement in emigration after 1945 to combat the Communist government and Yugoslavia in order to re-establish the NDH. For this purpose, they planned to organize the guerilla, or „Crusader”, groups still operating in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina under the umbrella of so-called Croatian military forces. Counting on support from the U.S. and Great Britain in an anti-Communist alliance against the Soviet East, the political orientation of the Ustaša leadership became pro-Western. Contact with Western agents revealed their interest in military intelligence and information about the military potential of the Crusaders, but they insisted that contact should remain with specific individuals and not extend to official recognition. In opposition to the 'liberal capitalist' system of the West, the Ustaša leadership emphasized the importance of state, communal and private ownership, and likewise the necessity of preserving the peasant smallhold as the basis of „Croatian national life”. The anticipated armed struggle was to be carried out exclusively by the Ustaša, but the future state was to be formed on the principles of democracy and national sovereignty. The Ustaša leadership hoped to tie Croatia to Western Europe and the United Nations. Due to the effective suppression of the guerilla movement by the communist government, and the fact that contact with Western intelligence absence of open warfare between the East and West, the plans of the Ustaša emigration were totally crushed.

An appendix shows two facsimiles with basic documents of the Ustaša-in-exile resistance centre Hrvatski državni odbor, HDO (pp. 38-39).

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Radelić, Zdenko: „Povezivanje ustaškog vodstva i križara 1945.-1947.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 34,1 (2002): 41-69.

The author presents the attempt of the exiled Ustaša leadership, which left Croatia in May 1945, to gain information about the political and military situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. They also wanted to find out whether there was an anti-Communist and anti-Yugoslav resistance movement called „The Crusaders”, and the real strength of such a movement. In order to gain this information the exiled leadership sent several groups into Croatia. Their objective was to connect with the Crusaders and obtain useful information for the exiled Ustaša leadership.

The article gives information about all groups which attempted infiltrating into Croatia. Beside the literature about this subject, published both in exile and in Yugoslavia, the author also used documents of the ministry of internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and other documents of the Yugoslav state security, which have been made available to the historical research only recently. Most of this documents were previously unknown and completely unresearched. The exiled Ustaša leadership overestimated the strength of the guerilla movement.

The activities of Crusaders gave them a false hope, after the disastrous defeat of the NDH at the end of the World War II. They hoped they would re-establish the independent Croatian state with the help of the Western Allies. For this reason they encouraged the infiltration of groups which had to collect the information about the situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Numerous failures of the infiltrated groups and several negative reports about



the situation were not enough to prove to the exiled leadership that they could not achieve their goals. Unrealistic political ambitions prompted the exiled Ustaša leadership to organize an elaborate plan which aimed at infiltrating larger number of Ustaša officers which would unite and control all the guerilla groups. The plan was known under the code name „April 10th” (the day the NDH was proclaimed) and it ended in a failure after the Yugoslav police organized Operation „Gvardijan” and during 1947 and 1948 successfully captured large numbers of Ustaša representatives who had infiltrated into Croatia. The failure of this action finally brought to light the real situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The author found out that in the late 1940s many exiled Croats lost hope that the violent overthrow of the Yugoslav communist regime was possible, although even the previous attempts were completely illusory.

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Rađa, Tihomil: „Dva emigrantska simpozija u Švicarskoj. Odnosi se na simpozije hrvatskih javnih radnika 1968. i 1971.” Hrvatska revija 47,3/4 (1997): 519-525.

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Ragazzi, Francesco: „The Invention of the Croatian Diaspora. Unpacking the Politics of 'Diaspora' during the War in Yugoslavia.” Global Migration and Transnational Politics (= Working Paper 10). [Fairfax, Va.] 2009.

Published by the Center for Global Studies at George Mason University. Presents the Croatian „diaspora” as an invention of the 1990s. Over the course of the 20th century, Croats living abroad were traditionally divided into three socio-political categories: the „old emigrants”, „political émigrés” and „guest workers”. At the turn of the 1990s, according to the author, rising ethnic tensions in Yugoslavia pushed these groups towards a short-lived unity when diasporic organizations provided a vast humanitarian, military and lobbying support for the newly founded state of Croatia. At the end of the war, Franjo Tuđman’s HDZ used the supposed moral debt of the country to the „diaspora”, to enact discriminatory citizenship laws and enforce a de facto de-territorialized annexation of part of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Drawing on several years of research on diaspora politics in the former Yugoslavia, this paper highlights several previously often overlooked insights about the role of diasporas in international relations and conflicts. Firstly, it argues that „diasporas” are not agents of international politics in and of themselves. The agents are the organizations and institutions representing, or claiming to represent, a diaspora. The second argument is that „diasporas” should not be considered as unitary actors. Even if at times diasporic institutions might build coalitions, or unanimously support a cause for a certain period of time, in different circumstances these organizations can be significantly divided, disrupting notions of diasporic homogeneity. Finally, this paper shows that the all-encompassing label of „diaspora” can be appropriated by a government and used to push policies that have little to do with the „diaspora” itself but instead justify national policies that would otherwise be considered illegitimate.

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Schmid, Isabella: „Im Zeichen des brennenden Herzens. Exilkroaten in der Bundesrepublik.” Kursbuch 62 (Dec. 1980): 111-119.

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Schmidt, Amy: „Vladko Maček i Hrvatska seljačka stranka. Prizori iz izbjeglištva.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 37,2 (2005): 407-422.

Schmidt, who made her Ph.D. about „The Croatian Peasant Party in Yugoslav Politics”, has examined recently declassified documents from the United States archives (NARA) about the first phase of Vladko Maček's exile from Yugoslavia and his connections to the U.S. intelligence service. Most interesting are the sources which show Maček's bearing toward the „Crusaders” (Križari), the ties between the Croatian Peasant Party and Serbian politicians and the Chetnik units of Draža Mihailović during the Second World War, as well as the position of Maček in exile after he moved to the United States. The author presented this paper at the 36th congress of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) in Boston on 7 December 2004. She points out that despite an attempt to establish contacts to Croatian anti-Communist exile forces in Italy and frequent meetings with the U.S. intelligence representative in Paris Maček's efforts to open any options for political influence on Yugoslavia in this manner finally did not materialize.

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Spehnjak, Katarina: „'Ratni zločinci' kao predmet spora britanske i jugoslavenske vlade 1945.-1948.” Zbornik u čast Hrvoja Matkovića (= Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu), ed. by Stjepan Matković. Zagreb 2005: 303-328.

The article analyses, on the basis of British governmental files, the relation between the Yugoslav and British governments in view of the problem of extraditing war crime suspects to Yugoslavia. It deals with the formal-judicial and political motives of the dispute of these two members of the anti-Fascist coalition and turns to cases of certain individuals, especially functionaries of the NDH.

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Strčić, Petar: „Prilog za biografiju Ante Cilige.” Časopis za suvremenu povijest 20,3 (1988): 15-49.

On the basis of archival material and abundant literature the author deals with the life of Dr. Ante Ciliga (b. 1898 on Istria) which followed an incredible line: from progressive national-revolutionary anti-Austrian and nationally Croatian, pro-Serbian and Yugoslav orientation, through the Social-democratic and Communist activity in Yugoslav countries and abroad and the active participation in Hungarian Soviet revolution, through factionalism in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Trotskyism in the Soviet Communist Party, through royal Yugoslavian, Stalinist and Ustaša collaboration, through the active support of the NDH in the country and abroad, resisting the National Liberation War and anti-Hitler Allied coalition in WWII, to the position of a prominent Ustaša, chauvinistic and clerical Croatian nationalist in emigration, very active and persistent opponent of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

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Šulaja, Miroslav/ Vasiljević, Vladan: „Mogućnosti primene normi međunarodnog prava na suzbijanju organizovanog delovanja neprijateljske emigracije protiv SFRJ.” Jugoslovenska revija za kriminologiju i krivično pravo 23, 1 (1985): 13-43.

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Tarle, Marko: „Hrvati u Australiji i povratak u domovinu.” Hrvatska revija 45,4 (1995): 494-504.

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Terzić, Milan: „Umetnik i politika 1945. Akcija jugoslovenskih vlasti nakon Drugog svetskog rata da se Ivan Meštrović vrati u zemlju.” Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju 2,1 (1995): 75-80.

Discusses the efforts of the Yugoslav government to get the famous sculptor Ivan Meštrović, for reasons of political prestige, to return. Josip Broz Tito, aware of the importance of such a noted personality, supported the project. Meštrović kept postponing the process, demanded concessions, but never broke off totally with Yugoslavia. In 1959 he paid a visit and came back to the U.S. where he died in 1962.

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Tijan, Pavao: „'Martyrium Croatiae'. O 50. godišnjici prvotiska hrvatske emigracije od g. 1945.” Hrvatska revija 46,3-4 (1996): 440-449.

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Tokić, Mate Nikola: „La violenza politica del separatismo croato nella Repubblica federale tedesca (1965-1980).” Ricerche di Storia Politica 11,3 (2008): 293-309.

Examines the radicalization of segments of West Germany's Croatian population during the 1960s and 1970s and the social processes which led to the adoption of political violence as the „preferred” form of political expression. Specifically, the article explores the interaction between the older generation of pro-fascist Croatian émigrés who came to West Germany immediately following World War II and the younger generation of migrant workers who began to flood into West Germany in the mid-1960s. The article is announced to derive from three main sources of materials. Firstly, information from various state archives, including those of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic and Socialist Yugoslavia. Secondly, various publications produced by radical Croatian émigré groups themselves in West Germany and elsewhere. Finally, interviews with former members of some of the most active groups of radical Croatian separatists, many of whom continue to maintain that émigré Croatian organizations in West Germany played a central role in helping Croatia gain independence in 1991. The essay, however, actually only presents documents from the inventory of the German Foreign Ministry and some quotations from exile papers.

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Tokić, Mate Nikola: „Diaspora politics and Transnational Terrorism. An Historical Case Study.” EUI Working Paper (RSCAS) 42 (August 2009): 1-12.

Paper for the workshop on „Transnational Spaces in History” at the Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) of the European University Institute (EUI):  
This article examines how the transnational character of one diaspora group – Croatians following World War II – influenced the organizational development of radical émigré separatism, particularly in relation to the strategies of action adopted by some of the more extreme nationalists.

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The article focuses on how difficulties arising from the fact that the Croatian diaspora existed in 'landscapes' as much as 'lands' helped define and delimit the repertoires of political action taken up by radicals. The internal and external pressures of being forced to operate in transnational space – including the fractional splintering which resulted from these pressures – helped shape the range of possible development for Croatian émigré organizations, including for some the adoption of violence as an acceptable form of political expression.

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Tokić, Mate Nikola: „Landscapes of Conflict. Unity and Disunity in post-Second World War Croatian Émigré Separatism.” European Review of History 16,2 (October 2009): 739-753.

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Tokić, Mate Nikola: „Party Politics, National Security, and Émigré Political Violence in Australia, 1949-1973.” Control of Violence. Historical and International Perspectives on Violence in Modern Societies, ed. by Wilhelm Heitmeyer et al. New York et al. 2011: 395-414.

According to the self-description, this essay, focussing on Croatian émigré political violence in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s, explores the political context of control of violence – or lack thereof – and the ideological contests involved. Specifically, it examines the conscious political calculations made by governmental actors when deciding whether particular kinds of violence should be considered deplorable, tolerable, acceptable, or even desirable, and therefore subject to different kinds of control.

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Várdy, Steven Béla: “Archduke Otto von Habsburg and American Hungarian Emigrés during and after World War II”. East European Quarterly 36,4 (Jan. 2003): 441.

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Vukušić, Bože: „Bruno Bušić – život, djelo, mučko ubojstvo i politička ostavština.” Državnost. Časopis za politiku, znanost, kulturu i gospodarstvo 3,3 (1999): 49-62.

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Waldmann, Jochen: „Exilkroaten in der Bundesrepublik. Die Gäste mit den Plastikbomben.” Minderheiten in der Bundesrepublik (= Disput 5), ed. by Bernhard Doerdelmann. Munich 1969: 203-230.

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Winland, Daphne: „The Politics of Desire and Disdain. Croatian Identity between 'Home' and 'Homeland'.” American Ethnologist 29,3 (2002): 693-718.

The collapse of communism in the former Yugoslavia has sparked an avalanche of personal and political questions for Croats all around the globe on the meaning of their history, traditions, and identity. This article analyzes the mutually constitutive relationships of diaspora Croats and the focus of their desire: an independent Croatia whose citizens participate in the establishment or restoration of the „historic” Croatian state. But, rather than inspiring unity, independence has created the conditions for the emergence and exacerbation of often fraught or equivocal relationships within and between these groups. The

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Croatian example challenges the inclination to juxtapose diaspora and homeland contexts and points to the need to investigate the struggles of their subjects to define their often tenuous yet increasingly intimate relationships within, across, and between borders.

## **Abbreviations**

CAA	– Croatian Academy of America
CFU	– Croatian Fraternal Union
FRG	– Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	– German Democratic Republic
HDO	– Hrvatski demokratski odbor
HDO	– Hrvatski državni odbor
HDP	– Hrvatski državotvorni pokret
HDZ	– Hrvatska demokratska zajednica
HNO	– Hrvatski narodni odbor
HNV	– Hrvatsko narodno vijeće
HOP	– Hrvatski oslobodilački pokret
HSS	– Hrvatska seljačka stranka
NDH	– Nezavisna država Hrvatska
SDB	– Služba državne bezbednosti
SFRY	– Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
UDBA	– Uprava državne bezbednosti